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ABSTRACT

Speakers of West Flemish dialect in switching to standard Netherlandic must choose between two sets of supra-regional lexical items: the Netherlandic and the non-Netherlandic alternative. A study was carried out in July and August 1974 to determine whether it can be stated that the supra-regional language is moving towards Netherlandic. Thirteen lexical pairs were used, eleven consisting of a Netherlandic variant and a non-Netherlandic one; and two consisting of two Netherlandic variants. One hundred and twenty male informants from 11 to 65 years of age and from different social backgrounds translated short sentences into Netherlandic, each containing a dialect word corresponding to one of the 13 lexical words in question. Subsequently the informants were asked to choose the "better" of two Netherlandic alternatives. Finally their use was compared to their preferred norm, and they were questioned as to their choices. It was found that the dialect speakers based their choices for "better" alternatives on two criteria: what was not present in their dialect, revealing linguistic insecurity; and what was Netherlandic, revealing the result of a historical process. Generally, the language of West Flanders is seen as evolving towards Netherlandic, albeit very slowly. Sample question forms are appended. (Author/AM)

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THE LONG WAY TOWARDS NETHERLANDIC: PROBLEMS OF LEXICAL STANDARDIZATION IN WEST FLANDERS (BELGIUM) [1]

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1. INTRODUCTION

Every time speakers of the Westflemish dialect find themselves in a situation that forces them to use standard Netherlandic, they are confronted with many lexical differences between their dialect and the standard language. The problem is not one of stylistic variation, but of what Trudgill has called "situational switching", i.e. Westflemish dialectspeakers have to switch "from their own vernacular to that of others - a linguistic variety that they normally learn only at school" (Trudgill 1974, 115).

This is a situation that can certainly be found in many speech communities. But in (West)Flanders this situation is complicated by the fact that dialectspeakers have to choose not only between dialectwords and supra-dialectical words, but at the same time between different supra-dialectical words as well. Take e.g. the following set of Westflemish dialectwords: to each of them two corresponding words can be found that have been propagated on a supra-regional level

	supra-regional language		
	<u>Westflemish</u>	<u>non-Netherlandic</u>	<u>Netherlandic</u>
'already'	ol	reeds	al
'weather'	were	weder	weer
'this morning'	vandenuchtend	deze morgen	vanmorgen
'leek'	p̄aret	p̄arei	prei
'maid-servant'	maorte, meesn	meid	dienstmeisje
'umbrella'	paraplu	regenscherm	paraplu
'purse'	portemonnee	geldbeugel	portemonnee
'drawer'	schof, schuve	schuif	la(de)
'buttermilk'	keiremelk	botermelk	karnemelk
'apron'	schorte	voorschoot	schort
'matches'	sulfers 2	stekjes	lucifers

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Where do these conflicting norms come from? The answer to this question is found in the history of the Netherlandic speech community.

2. A FEW NOTES ON THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND [2]

The standardization of the Netherlandic language started in the 15th century. At that time Brabant - and its main cities Antwerp, Brussels, Louvain, Breda and 's-Hertogenbosch - constituted the heart of the Seventeen Provinces, and it looked as if its dialect would be standardized and function as the general language for the joint Seventeen Provinces, but the political evolution decided differently. When in the 16th century the northern (calvinistic) provinces parted with the Spanish Habsburg authority, the center of economic, political and cultural activity was no longer Brabant, but Holland - the leading province in The Netherlands -, and its main cities Amsterdam, The Hague and Leyden. For the Netherlands the 17th century was a period of great economic and political power, and cultural expansion. One aspect of this was the standardization of Netherlandic based on the Hollandic dialect. For Flanders that stayed under the Spanish rule, that had watched the most dynamic part of its population go off to the Netherlands, and that economically speaking went downhill, the separation from the Netherlands was the beginning of a very dark period that lasted more than two centuries. As for linguistic matters Flanders was completely isolated from the standard language as it was developing in The Netherlands. In the second half of the 18th century, moreover, French - that had always been present in the Seventeen Provinces, especially in the circles of the nobility - became the language of the Flemish elite. The masses that were living in miserable circumstances, were content with their dialects. Efforts to come to their own linguistic unity failed.

As far as there was a need for it, people used for written language a form more or less related to the regional dialects, but nevertheless mainly leaning to a past form of Netherlandic which, under influence of the hegemony of Brabant during the 15th century, displayed a fair amount of Brabantic elements.

When Belgium won its independence in 1830, the predominance of French was established all over the country. It reflected the political and social dominance of the French-speaking property-holders and professional elites of 19th century Belgium. They carried on the central government and much of the local government in their own tongue. For several generations education in "Netherlandic" stopped with the primary schools; secondary schools and universities taught exclusively in French (Lorwin 1972).

In the second half of the 19th century the resistance against the official frenchification was organized in what is traditionally known as the "Flemish Movement". Pioneers of that movement were convinced that linguistic union with The Netherlands was an urgent need for Flanders. Important results of their efforts were the "Congresses on Language and Literature" that were held every second year between 1849 and 1912 - alternately in Flanders and in The Netherlands -, the Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal (an historical dictionary, made by Dutch and Flemish lexicographers) and the De Vries-Te Winkel spelling, a joint Dutch-Flemish orthography, which the Belgian government accepted in 1864 as the official spelling.

In 1873 the Flemish Movement scored a first important political success in pushing through a few language laws. In these laws it was stipulated - that in Flanders, if necessary, jurisdiction had to take place in Netherlandic, civil servants had to know Netherlandic as well, and high schools had to make room for the native tongue. But since Belgium had still a French-speaking government, most of the official documents were conceived and written out in French and afterwards translated into Netherlandic. Because decent expedients (translation dictionaries, grammars, officially normed terminology) were lacking, these translations were strongly influenced by French... As a reaction against French influence, a puristic movement will later produce numerous "Netherlandic" elements... that are unknown in The Netherlands.

Although the Flemish had opted for the Netherlandic norm, contacts with the general language as spoken in The Netherlands were very limited so that what was adapted was not much more than an extremely formal norm. The respect for written standard Netherlandic was, moreover, not limited to Flanders in those days: in The Netherlands also the gap between spoken and written SN was fairly big.

Finally, because the standard language was mainly used in the political and administrative center, of the country (Brussels-Antwerp), the above mentioned Brabantic aspect got strengthened.

After World War One the political process was speeded up. In 1919 equal manhood suffrage was conceded: the numerical weight of Flemish peasants and workers could begin to produce its political consequences. In 1980 Ghent became the first Belgian all-Netherlandic university: for the first time it became possible to train a Flemish elite entirely in their own language. A few years later a series of laws were enacted to give the Netherlandic language equality with French in the administration, primary and secondary schools, the courts and the army. Flanders and Wallonia were now officially unilingual, whereas Brussels and the central administration were officially bilingual.

With the "netherlandization" of formal education in the thirties the written language with its gallicisms and/or its puristic counterparts, its Brabantic superstratum and its many archaic forms started functioning as the standard language in the schools, and was consequently used by a small group of educated people in daily life.

The influence of spoken Netherlandic reached a larger number of Flemish people after World War Two. The economic situation has improved enormously in Flanders over the last 25 years. Moreover, mass media and travelling have brought the Flemish in immediate contact with standard Netherlandic as it is spoken in The Netherlands. The democratization of higher education coupled with prosperity and technology have not only made the need for a general language much larger, but have also increased the number of S(tandard) N(etherlandic) speakers in Flanders substantially (see Meeus 1972). An intellectual trend that had been working for cultural integration 'between Flanders and The Netherlands, now had a sounding-board.

3. SOCIOLEXICAL VARIABLES

When Westflemish dialect speakers wish or are forced to use the standard language, they not only have to replace dialect elements by standard elements, they also have to make a choice between Netherlandic and non-Netherlandic alternatives. The non-Netherlandic elements belong

as to their origin and present status to different categories:

1. archaïsmes, written language: the contact with The Netherlands has long stayed very limited, the written language functioned as a starting-point;
2. purismes: the dialects, the supra-regional language in Flanders and also SN have all been undergoing French influence; as a reaction against this influence, a powerful puristic movement is at work in Flanders;
3. Brabantic elements: they look for association with a older form of the general language which originated in Brabant; this general language ^{moreover} has mainly been propagated from the economic, political, administrative centre Brabant.

But after the second world war the contact with and the knowledge of the standard language clearly advanced, so that to each of these non-Netherlandic norms now corresponds a Netherlandic one.

Thirteen lexical pairs have been the object of research we carried out in July-August 1974. Eleven of these pairs consist - as can be seen in par. 1. - of a Netherlandic variant and a non-Netherlandic one. The non-Netherlandic elements refer each to one of the three subcategories described above:

1. archaic (bookish, written) norms vs. Netherlandic norms

<u>reeds</u>	vs.	<u>al</u>
<u>weder</u>		<u>weer</u>
<u>deze morgen</u>		<u>vanmorgen</u>
<u>porei</u>		<u>prei</u>
<u>(dienst)meid</u>		<u>dienstmeisje</u>

2. purisms vs. French loanwords (=Netherlandic norms)

<u>regenscherm</u>	<u>paraplu</u>
<u>geldbeugel</u>	<u>portemonnee</u>

3. Brabantic norms vs. Netherlandic norms

<u>schuif</u>	<u>la(de)</u>
<u>botermelk</u>	<u>karnemelk</u>
<u>voorschoot</u>	<u>schort</u>
<u>stekjes</u>	<u>lucifers</u>

Finally, two pairs were included that consist of two Netherlandic [3] variants: dicht(doen) - toe(doen) (Westflemish: toe(doen): 'to close') and terug(brengen) - weer(brengen) (Westflemish were (brengen)'to bring back'). These pairs are sociolexical variables, and should be investigated as such: Indeed:

- "(1) they offer alternative means of saying "the same thing": that is, for each utterance in A there is a corresponding utterance in B which provides the same referential information (is synonymous) and cannot be differentiated except in terms of the over-all significance which marks the use of B as against A.
- (2) They are jointly available to all (adult) members of the speech community. Some speakers may be unable to produce utterances in A and B with equal competence because of some restriction in their personal knowledge, practices or privileges appropriate to their social status, but all speakers generally have the ability to interpret utterances in A and B and understand the significance of the choice of A or B by some other speaker ". (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968, 159).

If the evolution of the supra-regional language in (West)Flanders is to be described as "a movement in two directions: towards Netherlandic and away from Netherlandic" (Goossens 1973, 230), then the competition between the variants of these variables should reflect the past and the future of standard Netherlandic in (West)Flanders. It is important for us to know if the supra-regional language in Flanders is indeed moving towards Netherlandic (as has often been pretended, but never investigated).

4. FRAMEWORK OF THE INVESTIGATION

4.1. The interview.

An interview consisting of 3 parts has been taken from 120 male informants. In part one we asked them to translate a number of short, everyday dialect sentences into Netherlandic. Each sentence contains a dialectword that corresponds to one of the 13 lexical variables (see appendix: form I): sentence 1: karnemelk-boteremelk ; sentence 2: lade-schuif; sentence 3: portemonnee-geldbeugel; sentence 4: weer-terug

sentence 5: stekjes-lucifers; sentence 6: toe-dicht; sentence 7: al-reeds; sentence 8: vanmorgen-deze morgen; sentence 9: weer-weder; sentence 10: schort-voorschoot; sentence 11: paraplu-regenscherm. These were the variables that were tested in Kortrijk; in the region of Poperinge, portemonnee-geldbeugel, and schort-voorschoot were replaced by dienstmeisje-(dienst)meid (sentence 12), and porei-prei (sentence 13).

The interviewers (who were native speakers of the local dialects) "read" the sentences of form I to prevent deviations between different interviews, and marked on form I what happened to the variable in question. The word used by the informant in his translation is labeled USE.

In part two the informant is presented form II (see appendix) with the request to indicate for each sentence what alternative, according to him, is the better Nethelandic. He thus gets the opportunity to confront his own use with the alternative(s). This response is considered to be his NORM.

In part three use and norm were compared, and the informant was asked to account for both. If they differed from each other, the question was: why have you said a in part one, whereas you prefer b in part two? And why do you think b is better after all? Has the informant stuck with his first choice, then we want to know why he rejected the other alternative.

4.2. The sample

The investigation was carried out in two different regions: Kortrijk, in the South East of West Flanders, and Poperinge, in the South West of the province. The reason for this is that we also wanted to study the pronominal variable jij-gij. The dialects of Kortrijk and Poperinge have important differences in their pronominal systems; we wanted to find out whether these differences have any effect on the status of SN jij (vs. gij) in West Flanders. The pronominal variable will not be discussed in this paper, however.

The intended sample per region is summarized in fig.1:

Fig.1: ~~hier-aanbrengen~~ (7th)

AGE-CATEGORIES (A)

STUDYING

WORKING

A1.

A2

A3

A4

A5

A6

E.S.

TECHN.

NUM.

H.T.

UNIV.

ACTIVE

RE-TIRED

SOCIAL CATEGORIES

1.

2

3

4.

5.

6a.

6b.

7a.

7b.

8.

9.

Teachers

H'

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Fig. 1. : Intended sample per region.

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a. age categories: we included six age categories, that they are rather unequally spread in time is due to the fact that we, with regard to eventual perspectives for SN teaching, wanted to give priority to the school going youngsters

A 1: 11-12 years old	(elementary school)
A 2: 14-16	(secondary school)
A 3: 19-21	(higher education)
A 4: 25-35	professionally active
A 5: 45-55	
A 6: 65-	retired

b. occupational groups:

As to A 4, A5 and A6 the following occupational groups were distinguished:

- 1 = unskilled workers
- 2 = skilled workers
- 3 = clerks
- 4 = minor businessmen (shopkeepers, etc.)
- 5 = executives
- 6a = language teachers (no university degree)
- 6b = technical engineers, etc. (no university degree)
- 7a = language teachers (university graduates, shorter type)
- 7b = university graduates, shorter type (other disciplines)
- 8 = university graduates, longer type (doctors, lawyers, etc.)
- 9 = managers, owners of larger companies.

The youngsters were selected on the basis of their social origin; the latter was defined with the help of only one single criterion, namely their fathers' occupational group. To keep the number of informants restricted as to the youngsters 7,8 and 9 are represented by one informant only; also ^{the} distinction between a and b is dropped. A distinction has been made, though, between technical and non-technical education, because we can assume that in technical education less attention is paid to the general language.

d. Social categories

Because of lack of time the number of informants had to be restricted to one per cell. Moreover, we could not find an informant for each cell: the number aimed at was 2×68 , the final result 120. Consequently, we had too group different occupational groups if we wanted to study eventual social differences. As to the informants above the age of 25 we will restrict ourselves in this paper to 3 social categories:

L(ow) = occupational groups 1 tot 4

H'(igh) = occupational groups 5, 6b, 7b, 8 and 9

T(eachers) = occupational groups 6a and 7a

So much attention is given to that rather small group of language teachers for two reasons:

1. in a speech community like the Westflemish one where at least 90% of the people are native dialectspeakers, school in general and Netherlandic teachers in particular will play an important part in the distribution of language norms.
2. we assume, with Ammon (1973,35) that in our Western societies there exists no straightforward relation between knowledge and use of the standard language on the one hand, and power on the other hand.

The youngsters also were grouped into 2 larger categories, according to the social status of their father: Y, L = sons of Low

Y, H = sons of High

But this appeared to be an unnecessary splitting; we could not determine a single significant difference between both categories. Our fourth category therefore, will be y(outh) ($=Y,L + Y,H = A1 + A2 + A3$). All our informants were native dialect users !

4. EXOGENOUS VS. ENDOGENOUS

Table 1 shows the results for the 13 pairs:

Table 1 : $(91-95)$

1. TWO NETHERLANDIC ALTERNATIVES

KORTRIJK [62]

POPERINGE [58]

TOTAAL [120]

1. DICHT-TOE

USE

DICHT	47 (0.76)	47 (0.81)	94 (0.76)
TOE	15 (0.24)	11 (0.19)	26 (0.22)

NORM

DICHT	59 (0.95)	58 (1.00)	117 (0.97)
TOE	3 (0.05)	0	3 (0.03)

2. TERUG-WEER

USE

TERUG	53 (0.85)	52 (0.90)	105 (0.87)
WEER	9 (0.15)	6 (0.10)	15 (0.13)

NORM

TERUG	59 (0.95)	56 (0.97)	115 (0.96)
WEER	3 (0.05)	2 (0.03)	5 (0.04)

2. ARCHAIC VS. NETHERLANDIC VARIANTS

1. REEDS-AL

USE

REEDS	25 (0.40)	21 (0.36)	46 (0.38)
AL	37 (0.60)	37 (0.64)	74 (0.62)

NORM

REEDS	48 (0.77)	46 (0.79)	94 (0.78)
AL	14 (0.23)	12 (0.21)	26 (0.22)

2. DEZE MORGEN-

VANMORGEN

USE

DEZE MORGEN	43 (0.69)	31 (0.53)	74 (0.62)
VAN DEZE			
MORGEN		1	
HEDEN MORGEN	1		
VANMORGEN	15 (0.24)	18 (0.31)	33 (0.27)
VANDEMORGEN	1	3	
VANOCHTEND	1	4	
VANDENOCHTEND	1		

NORM

DEZE MORGEN	47	(0.76)	38	(0.66)	85	(0.71)
VAN MORGEN	15	(0.24)	20	(0.34)	35	(0.29)

3. WEDER-WEER

USE

WEDER	25	(0.41)	15	(0.26)	40	(0.33)
WEER	37	(0.59)	43	(0.74)	80	(0.67)

NORM

WEDER	33	(0.53)	24	(0.42)	57	(0.47)
WEER	29	(0.47)	34	(0.58)	63	(0.53)

4. POREI-PREI

USE

POREI	11	(0.19)
PARET	3	
(DOES NOT KNOW)	1	
PREI	43	(0.74)

NORM

POREI	6	(0.14)
PREI	50	(0.86)
NO PREFERENCE	2	

5. MEID-DIENSTMEISJE

USE

MEID	45	(0.84)
DIENSTMEID	4	
MEISJE	1	(0.05)
DIENSTMEISJE	2	
WERKvrouw	2	
HEESN	1	
HAART	2	
HAARTJE	1	

NORM

MEID	13	(0.22)
DIENSTMEISJE	44	(0.76)
NO PREFERENCE	1	

3. PURISMS VS. FRENCH LOANWORDS

1. GELDBEUGEL-

PORTEMONNEE

USE

GELDBEUGEL	46	(0.74)
PORTEMONNEE	13	(0.21)
PORTEFEUILLE	2	
BEURS	1	

NORM

GELDBEUGEL	55	(0.89)
PORTEMONNEE	7	(0.11)

2. REGENSCHERM-

PARAPLU

USE

REGENSCHERM	35	(0.56)	27	(0.47)	62	(0.52)
PARAPLU	27	(0.44)	31	(0.53)	58	(0.48)

NORM

REGENSCHERM	51	(0.82)	45	(0.78)	96	(0.80)
PARAPLU	11	(0.18)	13	(0.22)	24	(0.20)

4. BRABANTIC VS. NETHERLANDIC VARIANTS

1. SCHUIF-LA(DE)

USE

SCHUIF	1	(0.02)	1	(0.02)	2	(0.02)
SCHOF	12		7		19	
DOES NOT KNOW			1		1	
LA(DE)	49	(0.79)	49	(0.84)	98	(0.82)

NORM

SCHUIF	9	(0.15)	1	(0.02)	10	(0.08)
LA(DE)	53	(0.85)	57	(0.98)	110	(0.92)

2. BOTERMELK-

KARNEHELK

USE

BOTERMELK	4	(0.06)	4	(0.07)	8	(0.07)
KARNEHELK	57	(0.92)	51	(0.88)	108	(0.90)
MELK	1				1	
PAP			1		1	
AFGEROOMDE						
MELK			1		1	
VOLLE MELK			1		1	

NORM

BOTERMELK	20	(0.32)	23	(0.40)	43	(0.36)
KARNEHELK	42	(0.68)	35	(0.60)	77	(0.64)

3. VOORSCHOOT-

SCHORT

USE

VOORSCHOOT	20	(0.32)
SCHORT	17	(0.27)
STOFJAS	11	
OVERJAS	4	
JAS	2	
STOFMANTEL	1	
KAMERJAS	1	
KIEL	2	
OVERTREKSEL	1	
JURK	1	
DOES NOT KNOW	2	

NORM

VOORSCHOOT	51	(0.82)
SCHORT	11	(0.18)

4. STEKJES-

LUCIFERS

USE

STEKJES	24	(0.39)	23	(0.40)	47	(0.39)
LUCIFERS	30	(0.56)	33	(0.57)	68	(0.57)
AANSTEKERTJES	1				1	
SULFERS	2		2		4	

NORH

STEKJES	37	(0.60)	30	(0.52)	67	(0.56)
LUCIFERS	25	(0.40)	28	(0.48)	53	(0.44)

Table 1: global results for the 13 variables, use and prestige (average scores between brackets)

What is used by the majority of our 120 informants does not always fall together with what that same majority considers to be the better Netherlandic: e.g. al, meid and lucifers are used by more than 50% of the informants, both in Kortrijk and in Poperinge,...and it is their counterparts reeds, dienstmeisje and stekjes that are considered to be the norm.

But not only in those cases do we observe a difference between what Westflemings use and would want to use. In all cases there is shifting, and that this does not take place in an arbitrary way is shown in table 2:

<u>KORTRIJK</u>		<u>POPERINGE</u>	
1. DICT	0.95 (+0.19)	DICT	1.00 (+0.19)
2. TERUG	0.95 (+0.10)	TERUG	0.97 (+0.07)
3. LA(DE)	0.85 (+0.06)	LA(DE)	0.98 (+0.14)
4. GELDBEUGEL	0.89 (+0.15)		
		5. PREI	0.86 (+0.12)
6. VOORSCHOOT	0.82 (+0.50)		
7. REGENSCHERM	0.82 (+0.26)	REGENSCHERM	0.78 (+0.31)
8. REEDS	0.77 (+0.37)	REEDS	0.79 (+0.43)
		9. DIENSTMEISJE	0.76 (+0.71)
10. DEZE MORGEN	0.76 (+0.07)	DEZE MORGEN	0.66 (+0.13)
11. KARNEMELK	0.68 (-0.24)	KARNEMELK	0.60 (-0.28)
12. STEKJES	0.60 (+0.21)	STEKJES	0.52 (+0.12)
13. WEDER	0.53 (+0.12)	WEER	0.58 (-0.16)

Table 2: classification of the variants that are preferred by the majority of the informants according to their norm-values (between brackets: difference between norm -and use-values, positive if $NORM > USE$, negative if $NORM < USE$)

Two of the 13 variables consist of two exogenous [4] elements: meid-dienstmeisje, stekjes-lucifers. The other ones contain next to an exogenous element also a word that falls together with the dialect word or closely resembles it formally, and that therefore we can call endogenous. Of the endogenous elements there are only two that are considered as norm by the majority of our informants: karnemelk and weer (the latter in Poperinge only). Moreover, for all exogenous variant

the norm value is higher than the use value, whereas for all endogenous variants the relation is exactly the contrary, so that also karnemelk and weer are much more used than they are positively evaluated.

One question therefore seems to stand central with the choice between two variants, nl. "which element does not occur in my particular language system (=dialect)?" The element that does not occur in the particular dialect, stands the best chance in the eyes of the Westflemish dialectusers to belong to the standard language, and therefore gets preference. Thus our conclusion must clearly be that the choices of our informants are not as strongly influenced by the Netherlandic vs. non-Netherlandic status of the alternatives as they are by their exogenous character.

The same goes for the different sub-categories with Netherlandic elements: it does not matter in the first instance whether they are Brabantisms, purisms or archaisms, what matters is whether they can stand the comparison with the local dialect word.

The reluctance to evaluate particular lexical material is a constant in the linguistic behavior of our informants. Such an attitude easily leads to hypercorrection. In their attempts to speak a correct SN Westflemish dialectusers clearly go too far. They overdo it, thus deviating farther from the Netherlandic norm.

The clearest examples of hypercorrective behavior in this investigation were dicht, (vs. toe) and terug (vs. weer). They are used by 80 to 90% of the informants, and considered to be the better alternatives by 95% to 100% of them.

Being asked why dicht is so much better than toe, more than half of the informants answer either that toe is wrong because "it is Westflemish", or that toe is not necessarily wrong, but they nevertheless prefer dicht because it is more cultivated.

Westflemish dialectusers thus do not doubt that dicht is good Netherlandic, but toe also occurs in their dialect and this renders the SN status of toe in the eyes of the vast majority of our informants ambiguous, to say the least.

Although the dialectic distribution of dicht and toe cannot be reduced to a Dutch-Belgian opposition, yet toe is practically the only form in Flanders, whereas dicht is practically the only form in Holland (De Rooij 1972, map 12).

Yet, the few Hollanders we could interrogate as to dicht-toe advocated dicht without hesitating for the simple reason that this is the only variant they use in their own language. The difference in attitude thus is very clear: the Hollanders are aware of their position of authority in the Netherlandic linguistic area and consequently prefer determinedly their own elements: "we don't know toedoen, it therefore must be dialectical or archaic Netherlandic".

The Westflemish, on the contrary, know very well that their SN prestige is non-existent, so that the confrontation with an exogenous alternative is sufficient to make them doubt the SN status of the endogenous variant: "we say toedoen, it therefore cannot be SN".

With this we do not state that the Westflemish direct themselves to the Hollandish example. Although dicht has been propagated from Holland, it yet seems hardly probable that dicht has been imported directly from Holland into West-Flanders. Our observations show little or no doubt as to the fact that the whole of Flanders has a clear preference for dicht. The fact ^{that} exogenous cannot simply be equated with Hollandic, is also clear from the success of exogenous elements... that are unknown in The Netherlands (the brabantisms voorschoot, botermelk, stekjes; the purisms regenscherm and geldbeugel) or sound completely archaic in The Netherlands (weder, reeds, deze morgen) (for a detailed analysis of all these variables, see Deprez and Geerts 1976).

Whether a standard element gets accepted therefore depends in the first place on whether or not it makes an exogenous impression.

The reason for this situation must be sought in the past.

Historical circumstances have indirectly and directly contributed. Indirectly the little contact with and the very limited knowledge of standard Netherlandic have lead to an overwrought image of that language. Only the confrontation with the living language itself can reveal its possibilities and stratification. We have already pointed out that up to 15 or 20 years ago there was little question of such confrontation in Flanders.

But this hypercorrective behavior has also been promoted by direct action in the sense that

1. the dialects have, for many years, been labeled "uncultivated" by all kinds of standard language propagandists;
2. reeds, weder, deze morgen, porei, meid, regenscherm, geldbeugel, etc. have been actively propagated from above by teachers, purists, etc. who apparently had equally little contact with and insight of the living general language.

That these forms have been actively propagated in West Flanders, is clearly proven by our results:

- a. weder, reeds, deze morgen, porei, meid, regenscherm, geldbeugel, botermelk, voorschoot and stekjes are all highly used and evaluated by the older age-categories (most of these variants show the highest use - and norm - scores for the oldest informants) and by Low, that is the group who has less active contact with standard Netherlandic, and whose image of that language will therefore be more static;
- b. one may wonder how porei could ever be accepted in West Flanders when it is now being rejected because it resembles the dialect word paret better than prei does ? Did porei not resemble paret before? The answer is: muchless! Distrust of what also occurs in one's own dialect can only manifest itself when different possibilities of choice are present. Now, the choice between porei and prei was not put before. If we do want to talk of a possibility of choice, it was the choice between the dialectword paret and the supra-regional element porei. It goes without saying that porei won. The same goes for most of the other variables. Half a century ago Westflemish dialectusers were asked to choose between their dialect word were and the supra-regional element weder. The Netherlandic alternative weer was not yet propagated in Flanders...nor were al, vanmorgen, etc.

5. NETHERLANDIC VS. NON-NETHERLANDIC

But now the Netherlandic alternatives are being propagated (although -to be sure - not by all people who deal with the supra-regional language and our results show that Westflemish dialect users indeed no longer make their choices dependent only on the exogenous respectively endogenous character of the alternatives. On tables 1. and 2. e.g. we can

see that the scores are not equally high for all exogenous elements.

Table 3. shows the norm, use and consistency scores [5] for all Netherlandic variants, and compares two larger age groups, 25- and 25+, as to the preference for these variants. Six of these thirteen Netherlandic variants are in Kortrijk and in Poperinge exogenous, nl. dicht, terug, lade, prei, dienstmeisje and lucifers; the others are endogenous. Both endogenous and exogenous Netherlandic variants have higher scores for 25- than for 25+: on the average they lie 9% (norm), 13% (use) and 10% (consistency) higher in Kortrijk, and 10% (norm) 14% (use) and 12% (consistency) in Poperinge. We will further investigate this evolution in 6.

	<u>KORTRIJK</u>		<u>POPERINGE</u>	
	25-	25+	25-	25+
DICHT	11-21-24			0-4-4
TERUG		2-7-6	1-	-11-10
LA(DE)	6-27-18		5-2-2	
PREI			19-41-38	
DIENSTMEISJE			1-2-2	
LUCIFERS	41-57-39		33-47-31	
WEER	14-5-16		22- -11	-8-
AL	3-12	-3	13-30-13	
VANMORGEN	-1	7-1-	2-14-18	
PARAPLU	1-41-7		9-46-16	
KARNEMELK	19-5-20		18-0-19	
SCHORT	13-4-	-1		
PORTEMONNEE		5-20-8		

Table 3: higher preference (norm-use-consistency) for the Netherlandic variants: 25- vs. 25+ in Kortrijk and in Poperinge; (average values per age category).

6. [+ EXOGENOUS] VS. [+ NETHERLANDIC]

The factor "exogenous" is more important than the factor 'Netherlandic' when the 4 possible combinations between the two factors -in terms of the prestige of the variants- result in the following regularity:

↑	+ exogenous,	+ Netherlandic
↑	+ exogenous,	- Netherlandic
↑	- exogenous,	+ Netherlandic
↑	- exogenous,	- Netherlandic

that is -the prestige of an exogenous element must be larger than that of an endogenous element, not considering the status as to Netherlandic.

The values we here take into account are therefore prestige values that is norm-values. The reason being that only norm values offer the necessary guaranties for this kind of analysis.

The use, indeed, cannot always be equated with the derived choice we had to observe more than oncethat someone had used an endogenous (Netherlandic or not) word on part one of the interview because he had not thought of the alternative, or because he did not know the alternative...

Because the vast majority of the Netherlandic speaking people seem to have a pronounced preference for dicht and terug, toe en weer are considered non-Netherlandic in further analysis (see also note 3)

Fig.2. (15^h)

That the factor 'Netherlandic' has gained in strength can be readily seen in fig.2. The teachers are leading in that direction, they form (for the time being?) the only group for whom the status of an element with reference to Netherlandic has become the main criterion. With the school going youngsters, [+]exogenous is still as strongers [+]Netherlandic For the higher occupations (minus the teachers) and the lower occupations, exogenous is, respectively, 3 times and 4 times stronger.

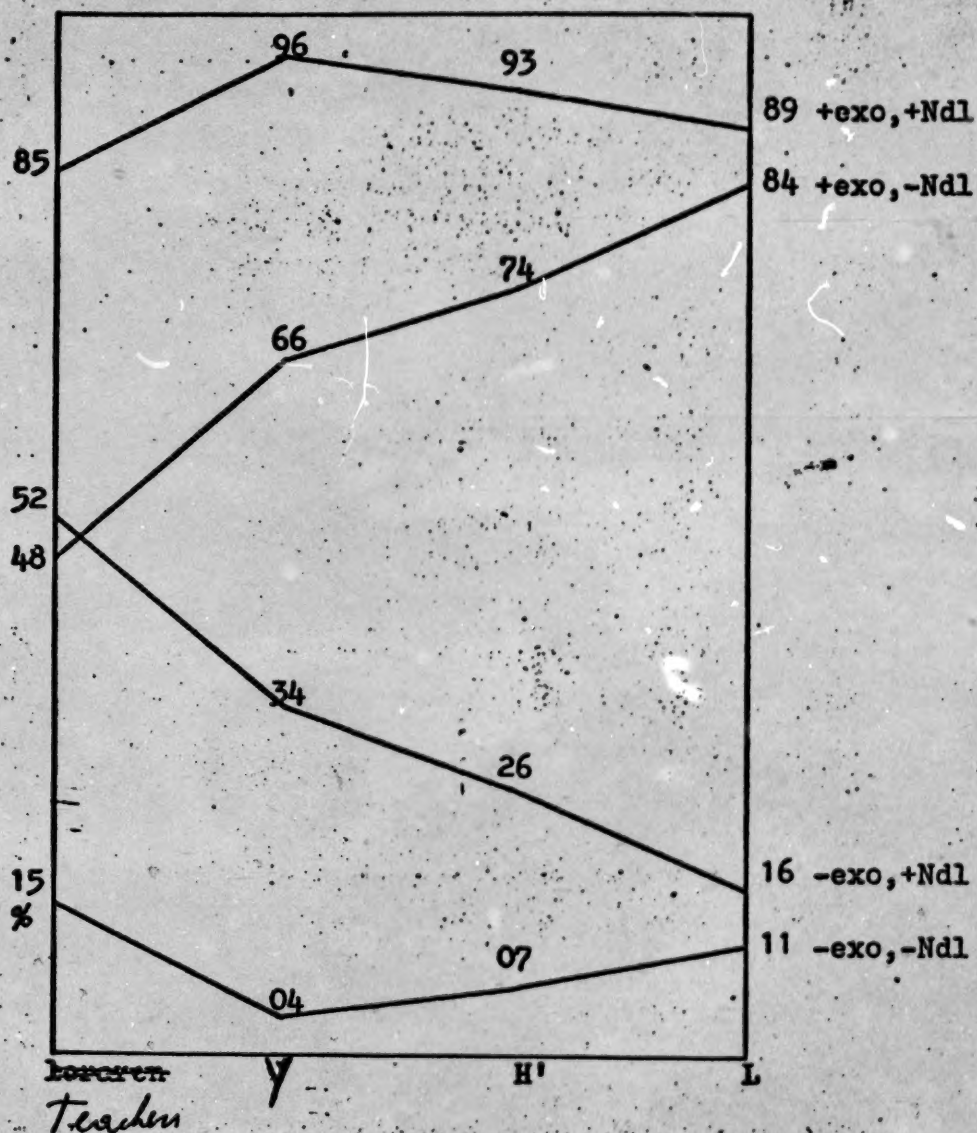


Fig. 2 : ranking of two factors that favor the prestige of a lexical variant as to T, Y, H' and L (average norm values per set).

Fig. 2. can also be represented as follows

	[+ exo]	[+ Neth]
T	0.33	↑ 0.37
Y	0.62	↑ 0.30
H'	0.67	↑ 0.19
L	↓ 0.76	↑ 0.05

7. REALIZATION OF THE NETHERLANDIC NORM

Although we can only call the desired norm-choices, conscious choices with certainty, it has repeatedly become clear that norm- and use-scores are no independent quantities; we see e.g. in table 3 that the youngsters not only have greater awe for the Netherlandic alternatives, but also use them more.

From table 2 it became clear that endogenous elements are more frequently used than evaluated, whereas it is exactly the contrary with exogenous elements. Fig. 3 and 4 confirm that the proportion between norm - and use-scores is one of two kinds: 1. for the series of exogenous (Netherlandic) variants the norm-values are greater than the use-values; 2. for the series of endogenous (Netherlandic) variants the norm-values on the contrary are smaller than the use-values. It moreover becomes clear here that these proportions are valid for all categories.

fig. 3 & 4 (16th & 16th)

As to the age categories striking are amongst other things

1. that with the informants older than 25, not only the prestige of the exogenous Netherlandic elements has increased (15%), but also and especially the active knowledge of these elements (36%). The average use-values remain smaller than the average norm-values, but the gap has become smaller. With the youngsters another most striking fact is how this same gap is filled, that is through an increasing of the active knowledge of the exogenous Netherlandic variants;

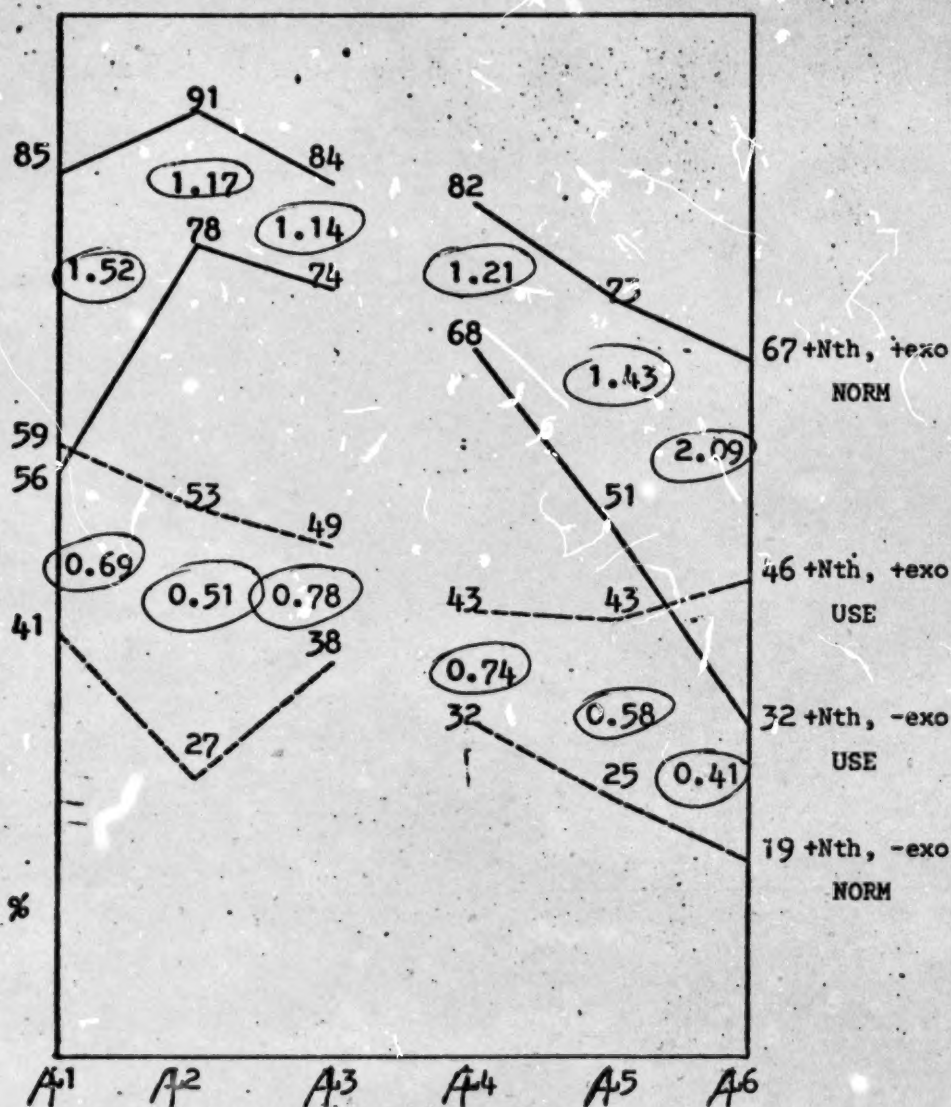


Fig.3: evaluation and use of exogenous Netherlandic variants (solid line) and of endogenous Netherlandic variants (dashed line) per age category (average values per series; encircled figures represent $\frac{\text{NORM}}{\text{USE}}$).

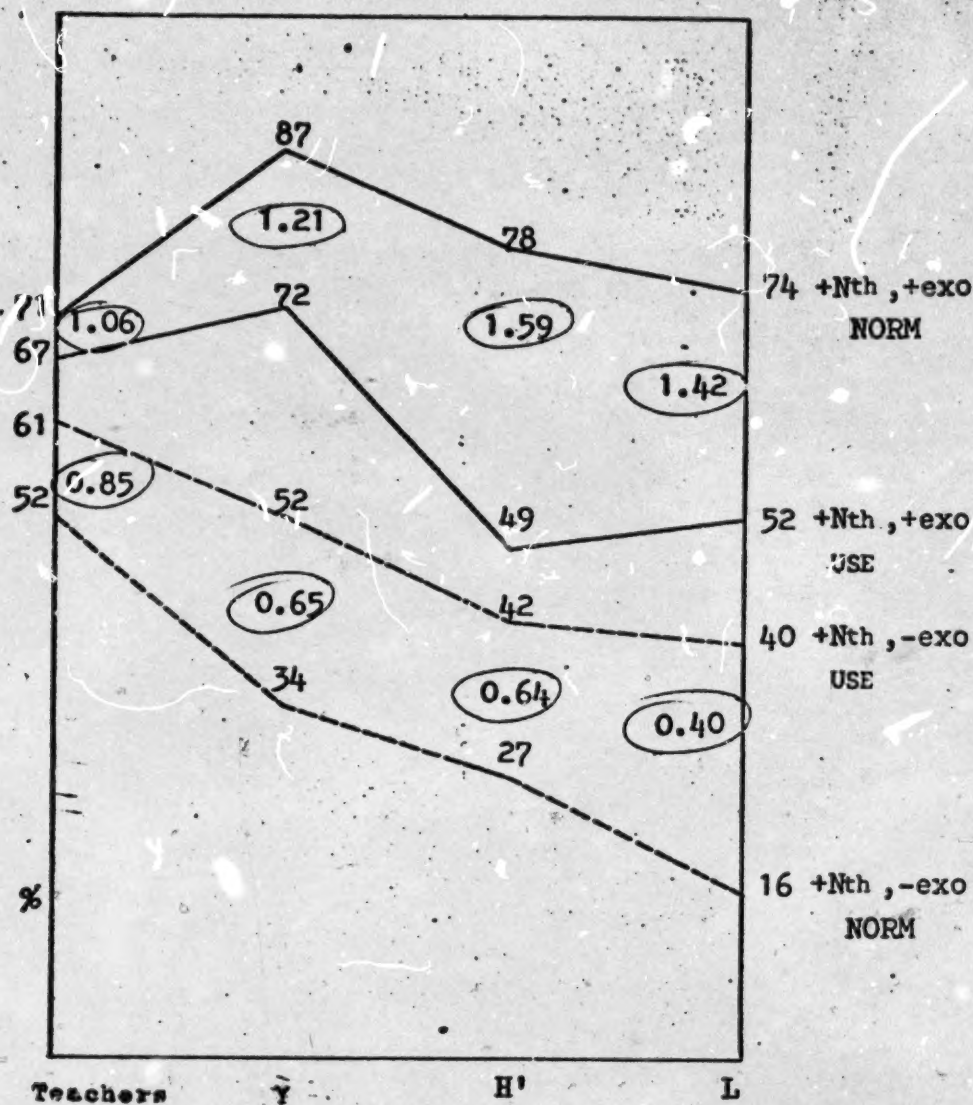


Fig.3: evaluation and use of exogenous Netherlandic variants (solid line) and of endogenous Netherlandic variants (dashed line) per^{social}category (average values per series; encircled figures represent $\frac{NORM}{USE}$).

2. that also the prestige of the endogenous Netherlandic variants has increased, but with the older people that prestige is very, very small, and there is only slow change. As for the use of these elements: not only the older people, but also the youngsters are taught not to use endogenous elements;
3. that relatively speaking, all categories use more easily exogenous Netherlandic variants - which they have to learn! than endogenous Netherlandic variants which they can get "directly" from their own dialect. Two exceptions: the youngest and the oldest...youngsters ^{have} not sufficiently been confronted with the general language to be able to either use exogenous elements fluently or not to use endogenous (Netherlandic or not) elements. With A2 this is already less the case. This means that schools teach their pupils in West-Flanders that "the general language is something different"...
4. that there are clear differences between A₁ and A3 as far as the use is concerned. These differences do not leave any doubt as to the nature of the influence from school on the general language of the school going youngsters. Youth is evolving towards Netherlandic -they are getting a better active knowledge of exogenous elements. Apart from the study of Netherlandic, they learn to exercise better control on the automatic use of dialect elements. The general language of the youngsters becomes "purer" according to the years of education they have enjoyed. The general language looses its dialectical shades... even when those dialectical shades are in fact good Netherlandic !
5. that there is almost no difference, as to the norm-values, between A₁ and A3. This would indicate that the preference for Netherlandic alternatives does not automatically increase with the number of years of education, but that this still depends strongly on the attention these or other Netherlandic alternatives have received in school - which will be more the case for certain items in one age category for other items in ^{an} other age category - so that finally the result may be more or less the same.

As far as the social categories are concerned we can, among other things, observe (fig.4).

1. that the teachers lead as to use and evaluation of endogenous Netherlandic elements; yet, they also correct their use away from Netherlandic. Their lower scores for the endogenous series is on the one hand due to a certain proneness to consider toe and weer to be also good Netherlandic, on the other hand to the fact that they still stick to older norms like meid, stekjes (we should not forget that the category of "teachers" only consists of eight units, and that these belong to 3 different age categories)
2. that the behavior of the youngsters proves once again that the general language in West-Flanders - also as far as active knowledge is concerned - has started to better resemble Netherlandic in recent years.

8. THE LONG WAY TOWARDS NETHERLANDIC

The general language in West-Flanders is evolving towards Netherlandic. Yet this is a very slow process. The non-Netherlandic variants are in Flanders older than their Netherlandic counterparts. They were respresented as SN and accepted as such by the dialectusers. When the Netherlandic elements were also propagated, pairs came into existence and the dialectusers consequently had to make a choice. From this investigation it became clear they did (do) so mainly on the basis of two criteria: 1. which element does not occur in our own dialect? 2. which element is the Netherlandic one? The second criterion refers to an historic process, the first one, on the contrary, is rather of psychological nature.

The historical proces 'towards Netherlandic' then, -that repeats itself continually, with each dialectuser learning the standard language! - is on the one hand helped along by this psychological process, but is on the other hand also retarded by it...

We have already discussed the historical process. Flanders has gained more contact, and therefore a better knowledge of Netherlandic in the last decennia. In contrast to non-Netherlandic elements, Netherlandic elements are now being propagated. The results of the pro-Netherlandic campaign can be clearly noted in fig. 2,3 and 4: the factor 'Netherlandic' has become more important, the youngsters evaluate the Netherlandic elements higher than their parents, and also use them more. The scores are much higher for the exogenous Netherlandic variants than for the endogenous Netherlandic alternatives, and moreover, use and prestige increased much more rapidly for the first series than for the second...

One thing after another becomes more explicit when we calculate the linguistic (in)security, which unavoidably accompanies the presence of siolinguistic variables (cfr. Labov 1966, 1972).

The average linguistic security on the basis of the 4 pairs consisting of an exogenous Netherlandic and an endogenous non-Netherlandic element, and on the basis of the 7 pairs consisting of an exogenous non-Netherlandic, and an endogenous Netherlandic element, is, per age and social categorie as follows:

	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	T	Y	H'	L
(4 pairs)	0.59	0.90	0.93	0.86	0.77	0.61	0.89	0.84	0.72	0.76
(7 pairs)	0.50	0.57	0.67	0.71	0.66	0.58	0.75	0.58	0.62	0.58

For all categories the second series is accompanied by a greater linguistic insecurity than the first. For most categories the divergencies are even considerable. For A1 and A6 only, the difference is less than 10%: they have less active knowledge of the exogenous Netherlandic alternative, but their preference is hardly smaller than the preference of groups who have a good active knowledge of these alternatives (fig.3 and 4). For the Westflemish dialectusers there rises, as far as these 4 pairs are concerned, only one problem, namely the active mastering of the exogenous variant the replacing of the non-Netherlandic dialect element by the exogenous, Netherlandic element.

The second series gives the Westflemish a much higher degree of linguistic insecurity. The linguistic security on the basis of these pairs, moreover, increases very slowly and does not exceed the 75%. The confrontation with the supra regional language teaches the dialect users that dialect and standard language are two different quantities, that certain dialectal elements have to be replaced by exogenous elements... which are offered from authorities. But in West-Flanders, not all exogenous elements offered are good Netherlandic..., and inevitably there is reaction against this. The Westflemish dialect user is not only asked to replace dialectal elements by exogenous, Netherlandic, elements, on some points he is also asked to prefer one exogenous element to another exogenous element (we cannot further discuss this kind of substitution, because we have only included two pairs of that type in the investigation) or even to prefer an endogenous element to an endogenous one. This last operation is much harder to carry out, psychologically speaking because it is against nature so to speak: for someone who speaks dialect at home the replacing of endogenous elements by exogenous elements is a normal operation: that the reverse is completely against expectations and habituation.

Another aspect of this psychological process becomes explicit in the behavior of A2 (fig.3). The norm scores of A2 deviate clearly from those of A1 and A3.

With regard to A3, A2 shows an "excessive" preference for exogenous, and an "excessive" dislike of endogenous alternatives (a clear example of statistic hypercorrection!). Their choices are so consistent that they cannot be explained from the attention that these elements would have received from their teachers. We therefore have to accept that their age contributed to this and that 15-year old students, more than 20-years-old ones, experience the separatedness of the general language and the dialect.

This may be considered an extreme situation that diminishes with age, a reduction in certain habit and more attention to the relation of dialect and standard language.

Endogenous Netherlandic variants therefore spread with difficulty. Exogenous Netherlandic variants on the other hand spread very easily. How easily this happens is clearly illustrated with the pairs prei-porei and schuif-lade. Schuif and porei are two variants experienced to be endogenous in West Flanders, although they are not simply identical with the dialectal words.

Schuif is -contrary to what Goossens (1970,65) maintains- has probably never been present in West-Flanders itself. If it has been there, then it has suffered the same fate as porei that was accepted in West-Flanders as exogenous, and therefore as the "better" counterpart of the dialect word paret.

When the Netherlandic prei was propagated, it could easily drive out porei, because porei, with its great formal resemblance to paret, could be interpreted within the new opposition as the endogenous element.

APPENDIX

FORM I

- (1) ik drinke heirne keiremelk
'I like to drink buttermilk'
- (2) wa ligter in da bovenste schof?
'what is lying in the top drawer?'
- (3) j'è zijne portemonnee verloren
'he has lost his purse'
- (4) wannier bringen ze die ploaten were?
'when are they going to return those records?'
- (5) de sulfers liggen op toafel
'the matches are lying on the table'
- (6) doe die deure toe
'close that door'
- (7) kè die film ol hezien
'I have seen that movie already'
- (8) ze zin vandenuchtend vertrokken
'they left this morning'
- (9) mèn slecht were het
'we had bad weather'
- (10) woar è ze die nieuwe skorte hoolt?
'where did she get that new apron?'
- (11) j'è zine paraplu op den tring loaten lihhen
'he has left his umbrella on the train'
- (12) zen een niew measn
'they have a new maid-servant'
- (13) op de mart enne paret ekoht
'we have bought leek on the market'

FORM II

- (1) ik drink graag karnemelk
botermelk
- (2) wat ligt er in die bovenste la(de)?
schuif
- (3) hij heeft zijn portemonnee verloren
geldbeugel
- (4) wanneer brengen ze die platen weer ?
terug
- (5) de stekjes liggen op tafel
lucifers
- (6) doe die deur dicht
toe
- (7) ik heb die film al gezien
reeds
- (8) ze zijn vanmorgen vertrokken
deze morgen
- (9) we hebben slecht weer gehad
weder
- (10) waar heeft ze die nieuwe voorschoot gehaald ?
schort
- (11) hij heeft zijn paraplu op de trein laten liggen
regenscherm
- (12) ze hebben een nieuw(e) meid
dienstmeisje
- (13) op de markt hebben we prei gekocht
porei

NOTES

- [1] The paper that was read at the Conference, was still based on partial results. We are now able to present complete results...
- [2] More can be read about the history of standard Netherlandic in (o.a.) Geerts 1975 and Weijnen 1974.
- [3] With general or standard Netherlandic we mean primarily the "official" norm. That is the WNT, important dictionaries like Van Dale and Koenen, Peeter's Nederlandsche Taalgids and a number of recent articles. Yet "official norm" can here not be equated with the norm which is "conservative to the point of obsolescence" and neither with "superstandard forms" (Wolfram and Fasold 1974,19). On the contrary in 10 of the 13 cases that official norm coincides with the language use of informal, every day conversations of many Dutchmen and a growing number of Flemish.
- Three pairs oppose the identification of the official norm with informal Netherlandic. Schort and voorschoot are no synonyms in The Netherlands, but in Flanders, according to Goossens (1970), voorschoot would have been propagated from Brabant as a synonym of schort (that does not occur in Brabant).
- Dichtdoen and toedoen, terugbrengen and weerbrenen are considered to be equal by Van Dale. But it goes without saying that 1) real synonyms are rare, and 2) when they occur, they are usually not equal. But exactly in that case, the official norm is a very interesting starting-point because it gives us the opportunity to see how the linguistic society ^{reacts} upon such an official equality.
- [4] "By exogenous we mean: what the language user knows from his own native system, by exogenous what is foreign to that system". (De Schutter 1973,122).
- [5] People who consider their own use to be their own norm, are linguistically secure; their choices are consistent.

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